

An Introduction to the Dialects of Punjabi

Atam Singh

Punjabi University, Patiala

1. Each Language has its characteristic features that separate it from all other neighbouring languages. For the Punjabi language this feature is the "tones". These tones sharply distinguish our language from all other languages of the Indian sub-continent. The prevalence of this feature was first described by T. Grahame Bailey. According to him :—

The tonic h, *raising the tone* of the syllable, occurs only in an accented syllable after the vowel, or before the vowel of the syllable following an accented syllable. It cannot occur before an accented vowel. As its only effect is to raise the tone it will be understood that from the point of view of pronunciation it is immaterial whether we write *dañghā* or *dahdā* (severe) *unñhiwā* or *unñihwā*, nineteen, *wehndā* or *wendhā*, looking.

The deep sound represented by h occurs always in an accented syllable before the vowel. It distantly resembles the Arabic ain, and can be enunciated on a *low tone*. It strikes the ear as a deep guttural sound. It may accompany any consonant or vowel whatever, whether surd or sonant. In the majority of cases, bh, jh, gh, dh, *dh* when pronounced with this deep h are really pronounced as beginning with p, c, k, t, *t* but it is, of course, quite possible to have b, j, g, d, *d*, also with this sound. The following examples show actual occurrences of it. The forms in brackets indicate the usual way of writing the words, the others the actual pronunciation.¹

prā (bhrā) 'brother'

langñā (*langhñā*)
'cause to pass'

pā (bhā) 'price'

kañā (*ghañā*)
'lessen'

ba (bahā) 'cause to sit'

kañā (*kañhā*)
'turn out'²

Grierson also refers to this tonal characteristic of Western Punjabi. In his Survey, he mentions the assertion of Grahame Bailey.³ The pronunciation of this tonal feature of Western Punjabi generally written with the letter h, has been described in detail by Grierson as follows :—

"The pronunciation of the letter h is the same as in the Western dialects of Panjabi. Mr. Grahame Bailey gives the best description of the two sounds of this letter in his Wazirabad Grammar. There, he is referring to Panjabi, not to J.ahnda, but he informs me that the same rules apply to the latter language.

When h commences a word, or precedes an accented syllable, it has a strong guttural sound resembling that of a somewhat strongly accented ain in Arabic. We might compare the Cockney pronunciation 'ham' as *əm* (not *ám*). Thus *hiyyā*, the sides of a bed, is pronounced *īyyā* and *pihāi*, the wages of grinding, *piāt*.

In other positions, i. e. when it is not at the beginning of a word or preceding the accented syllable, it is hardly audible or may be altogether inaudible, but it strongly raises the pitch of the preceding vowel, often altering the whole tone of the word. Thus, *lāh*, bring down, is very different in sound from *la*, attach, although the h in the former is often quite inaudible. Similarly the first a in *kāhla*, speedy, is pronounced in a *high tone*, while in *kala*, black, it has the *ordinary tone*, although the h in the former word is not itself sounded.

The same remarks apply to the h shown in transliteration of soft (not hard) aspirated consonants, viz. gh, jh, ḡh, dh, bh, ph, nh, mh, ḡh, wh, etc., but not in the case of the hard aspirated consonants, kh, chh, ḡh, th, ph or of sh. Thus *bhrā*, a brother, is pronounced *brā*, *ghumā*, a measure of land, is pronounced *gūmā*, the *chanhā*, th Chinab river, is pronounced *chanā*. Similarly the name of the dialect spoken on the bank of that river is reported as *chināwārī* from Jhang (p. 280), and as *chinhāwārī* from Muzaffargarh (p. 323). On the other hand, in *'kuṛh*, in which ḡh follows an accented vowel, the h is inaudible, but the u is pronounced in a higher tone than in *'kuṛ*, the joint of a plough; and the a of *'bagghi* (pronounced *'baggi*, not *baggi*) is higher in tone than the a of *baggi* (feminine) white."⁴

The geographical extension of this feature was described as follows by Banarsi Dass Jain who worked with the celebrated phonetician, Daniel Jones and Grahame Bailey, in London and published his doctoral thesis in 1934 :—

"The tones cover a much larger area than has been mentioned by the Rev. T. G. Bailey. Infact they stretch right upto the Jamna in the East, and occupy the districts of Ambala, parts of Karnal, Rohtak, Hissar and Bikaner, the whole of Ferozepore, Shaikhupura, Lahore, Lyallpur, Gujranwala, Gujrat, Jehlam, Rawalpindi and the Dogri area, parts of Abbottabad, Hazara and Simla together with the whole of the intervening area."⁵

Daniel Jones while discussing the replacement of sound-quality by a tone refers to these tones as follows :—

"It is probable too that the two tones of modern Punjabi are derived from aspirations in an earlier form of that language. The low

rising tone, denoted in Grahame Bailey's Panjabi Phonetic Reader by ' , corresponds to the aspirations of the consonants bh, dh, etc., of Urdu, while the high-falling tone ' corresponds to the breathy voice often applied to Urdu vowels. Compare Panjabi *kər* (house), *bəöt* (much) with Urdu *ghər*, *bəut*".⁶

J. R. Firth has also referred to tones in Punjabi (Gujranwala) while comparing phonematic units of Hindustani with prosodic features of Punjabi in the following words :—

"Hindustani and Panjabi provide interesting examples of phonematic units in one dialect or style being represented in another by prosodies. Instances of interchanges in cognates between phonematic units of the vowel system and units of the consonant system are common, and examples and suggestions have been offered of interchanges and correspondences between phonematic units of both kinds and prosodies. The following table provides broad transcriptions to illustrate these principles :

Table I

<i>Hindustani</i>	<i>Hindustani</i>	<i>Punjabi</i>
(Eastern, careful)	(Western, quick)	(Gujranwala)
Pəhyle	Pəyhle	Pəylle
bəhwət	bəwht	bəwt
pəhwəncna	pəwhtəncna	pəwñc
bhəi	—	bəi
kər rəha həy	kərrahəyh	—
rəhta (rəhta)	—	rəynda

In pəhyle we have a three-syllable word in which h is phonematic (cvccv). In pəyhle there are two syllables by a sort of coalescence in which əyh indicates an open h-coloured or breathy vowel of the e-type (cvhcv). Similarly in the phrase bəhwət-əccha there are four syllables (cvccvcvcv), in bəwht-əchha three, the vowel in the first of which is open back and h-coloured (cvhcvccv).

In Panjabi pəylle the open vowel carries a compound high falling tone and the structure is prosodically quite different (cv'ccv) which, I think, is equivalent with cvhcv (pəyhle). bəwt similarly is cv'c, reduced to a monosyllable with initial and final consonant and a tonal prosody. In Hindustani verbal forms like rəhna, rəhta; kəhna, kəhta; the ə vowel in the h-coloured syllable immediately followed by a consonant is open with a retracted e-like quality. ylh is realized as ye, vwh as vo, in both of which there is a similar lowering and potential lengthening in emphasis."⁷

We have an elaborate analysis of the tonal system of Lahndi in Hardev Bahri's 'Lahndi Phonetics' (Ph.D. thesis, Punjab University, Lahore, 1941). Dr Bahri who is at present a Reader in Hindi,

Allahabad University, wrote the first doctoral dissertation on Lahndi Phonetics under the guidance of A.C. Woolner, Principal, Oriental College, Lahore. According to him the principle types of tones in Lahndi are :—

1. *The falling tone* : The larynx rises very slightly at the primary articulation of the tone and then falls down below its normal position. It is represented by sign ['] in this thesis, as in

'bár, outside	m6rō 'first'
ve'lā 'vacant'	ghā 'grass'

This tone is most common in Awankari and more prominent in it than in any Lahndi dialect. It is a particular feature of Wañadhi, less so of Pakhṛi, and least of Reshi.

2. *The high tone*. The larynx rises quickly and falls slowly in the articulation of this tone. In fact it is a variety of the tone no. (1). The same syllables of Wañadhi having falling tone are pronounced in Reshi with the high tone, represented in this thesis by (^). Compare :

Wañadhi	Reshi
vélā 'vacant'	ve^ lā
'ubálā 'impatient'	'uba^ lā
'gál 'abuse'	'ga^ l

3. *The low rising tone* represented in the thesis by sign ['] is very rare. The larynx goes down with a feeling of constraint and rises gradually to its position. A kind of h sound is heard before the vowel stage. The vocal chords vibrate. Examples :—

mòmdā 'O Mohammad'
nèsā~ 'We shall bathe'
pivā 'we may grind'
vérñā 'death anniversary'

The low-rising tone in Awankari is not quite different from a similar tone in Punjabi. (Cf Dr Jain's Punjabi Phonology, pp. 167-168) Only its operation is narrower in the dialect than in Punjabi in which it affects the voiced plosives as in kòṛa, horse, pàbi, sister-in-law, kà, grass, etc. These words are pronounced with a clear voiced aspiration and falling or high tone in Awankari. The striking feature of this tone is that it is a double-peaked tone as in Lithuanian 'dirzti' to be firm.

Anyhow, this tone is not quite regular in the dialect, found only in about a dozen words or so, and does not require further discussion.

4. *The mid-tone or the level tone* is the state of syllable or a group of syllables having none of the tones above, as in :—

'al'i o'lí e 'she has come'
ko'lí 'ave t̄s̄ s̄l'i 'some one may come, let us see'

The mid-tone has various gradations—ji, yes (in usual response to a call) has a level mid-tone; ji, in 'ao ji, come sir, has a long mid-tone; and in *hā7 ji*, what Sir ! has a high mid-tone⁸

Kali Charan Bahl wrote about 'Tones in Punjabi'⁹ under the guidance of Gordon H. Fairbanks and H.A. Gleason as also William O. Bright and P.C. Ganeshsundaram of the Deccan College, Poona. He concludes that Punjabi has three distinctive tones—Even tone, Falling tone and Rising tone.

H. S. Gill in his book entitled 'A Reference Grammer of Punjabi'¹⁰ written under the guidance of Professor Henry A. Gleason, Jr. mentions about the fully developed tonal system in the Punjabi language on the basis of oppositions and contrast. He has shown how the tonal contours considerably changed the phonological structure of the vowels and fundamentally affected the articulatory domain of the consonants giving a unique structure to the Punjabi language.

Harkirat Singh in his unpublished thesis 'A Comparative Study of Majhi and Multani' (1968) mentions that the position of the tone is significant in both the dialects—Majhi and Multani—of Punjabi.

Thus Punjabi is a national language with fully developed tonal system. It forges a unity among its speakers allowing for wide variations for local nuances. The man from Amritsar, from Multan, from Rawalpindi, from Patiala do not all speak the same way, the same words, though they speak in effect the same language and this adds to the richness of the Punjabi Language.

2. Distinctive Features of Punjabi

Besides tones which significantly distinguish Punjabi from all other modern Indian languages, the following are some of the characteristics of Punjabi :—

(i) One of the main feature of Punjabi is the form of its present (imperfect participle) which contains significant sound /d/ or /n/ e.g. *khāda* 'eating' *pīda* 'drinking' *jāda* 'going' etc. However Salt range, Awankari, Hindko of kohat, Ghebi, Pothohari, Dhundi-kairali and Puncchi dialects have /n/ instead. On the other hand the suffix in Western Hindi and Rajasthani is /t/ and the above given present participles are *khata*, *pita*, *jata* or *khato*, *pito*, *jato* respectively.

(ii) Again Punjabi has /d/ or /n/ base postposition of genitive. Unlike other postpositions this one is inflected to agree with gender, number and case, with the following noun. Thus /da/ or /na/ 'of' (masc. sing.) has other forms /de, di, diā or ne, ni, niā/. Hindi and Rajasthani have /k/ base position as/ka, ke, ki/ or /ko, ko, kera/. There is no agreement with the following noun in the case of feminine plural.

(iii) Punjabi has peculiar forms of first and second person plural pronouns. The characteristic suffix in these pronouns is /s/ :—

əsī 'we', tusī 'you pl.'. All dialects of Punjabi have this /s/ base pronouns, though the forms may differ slightly. Thus we have əsəd, tusəd in Kangri, Multani, Hindki of Dera Ghazi Khan and Thali; əs, tus in Dogri-Dhundi-kairali, Punchhi, Pothohari and Ghebi.

Hindi and most of the other N.I.A. languages have /m/ as characteristic sound in these pronouns.

(iv) The infinitive in Punjabi has mostly the termination /-ṇa/; only after r, ṣ and ṡ, the ending is /-na/. However Hindi and most other northern languages have n and not ṣ. In Punjabi we have piṇa 'to drink' khāṇa 'to eat' jaṇa 'to go' khēḍṇa 'to play' but in Hindi these infinitives are : piṇa, khāna, jaṇa, khelna respectively. Many other verbal forms which have ṣ in Punjabi have n in Hindi. The Punjabi forms piṇ dīo 'let him drink', piṇ nal 'by drinking' sukṇe paṇa 'spread for drying' will be piṇe do, piṇe se, sukhne ke lie dala, respectively in Hindi.

ṇ is also found in other speech forms. Its frequency in Punjabi is much more than in Hindi. Thus we find paṇi 'water', māṇ 'maund, a measure of weight', huṇ 'now', kaṇa 'one eyed', saṇe 'alongwith' etc. This sound has prominent position in Punjabi.

(v) Another striking characteristic of Punjabi is the form of nouns ending in geminate consonants preceded by central vowels under tones. No indication of gender is obtained from this form of nouns. Thus we find hət̥th 'hand', nəkk 'nose', kəmm 'work', kənn 'ear', sətt 'seven' etc. In Hindi and most other N. I. A. languages the form of such words is hath, nak, kam, kan and sat respectively. All dialects of Punjabi strictly adhere to this form and numerous words of this category are available in Punjabi vocabulary.

(vi) In Punjabi, the tadbhav adjective which terminates in /-a/ (masculine singular) agrees in gender, number and case with the noun it qualifies. Thus kala 'black' will have the following forms in different grammatical situations :—

kaṇa kutta 'black dog'

kaṇi kutti 'black bitch'

kaṇe kutte 'black dogs'

kaṇiā kuttiā 'black bitches'

kaṇia kuttiā 'O black dog'

kaṇie kuttie 'O black bitch'

kaṇio kuttiā 'O black dogs'

kaṇio kuttiā 'O black bitches'

kaṇia kuttiā 'black dogs', (oblique)

In no other Indo-Aryan languages an adjective has all these declensions.

(vii) In Punjabi the verb agrees, in gender and number, with the subject (or with the object in the past indefinite of the transitive verbs). Thus we find 'pīda' 'drinking' (masc. sing.), pīde (masc. pl.) pīdi (fem. sing.) pidiā (fem. pl.) Hindi has first three forms only. Feminine singular and feminine plural have the same verbal form 'piti'.

3. Dialects

3.1 Majhi : The name Majhi is applied to the dialect of Punjabi spoken in Majha (mid-land) which lies between the rivers Ravi and Beas-cum-Satluj and includes the district of Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Lahore. The purest form of Panjabi is Majhi. This is the language of the new Punjabi literature and the same form is the official language of the newly created Panjabi Speaking State. Tone is a characteristic feature of Majhi phonology. Every word of this dialect is considered to have one of the three tones-low, mid or high.

A network of ten distinctive vowels /i e ə a ɪ ə u ɔ ʊ u/ and twenty nine distinctive consonantal phonemes is set up in this dialect. The quality and duration of vowels are affected by the accompanying tone. In general, they are laxer with high tone and tense with low. They are longer with low tone and shorter with high. All consonants in word-final position have a slight vocalic release when the tone occurs on the preceding syllable. The retroflex //l/ is in strong opposition with the dental /l/ in the medial position though it is not represented in the Gurmukhi orthography where there is no letter for //l/. In the initial position the opposition /l/ is neutralized in favour of /l/. Grierson is not correct when he observes that "The most prominent one (peculiarity) is the entire absence of the cerebral l".¹¹

The opposition /n/ is very strong in medial and final position where there are numerous minimal pairs. However, in the initial position, this opposition is neutralized in favour of the dental nasal /n/. When the tonal contour begins from the second syllable with low tone, the preceding (on set) consonant is always voiced and in this position, the opposition voiceless/voiced is neutralized as in /ləbə/ 'help find', /pəjə/ 'make run'. /h/ occurs commonly only initial. In medial position it is limited to a very few learned words as used in careful, formal pronunciation but not in colloquial forms where it is either not used or altered in unpatterned way to conform to normal phonological net-work.

Nasalization is frequent in the dialect. All the vowels of Majhi may be nasalized. Any vowel following a nasal consonant is automatically nasalized and the opposition oral/nasal is neutralised in favour of nasalized vowels. All types of nasalization spread over

any sequence of vowels not interrupted by a true consonant. /w/ does not limit the domain of nasalization. e. g. *g̣iā* /g̣iā/ 'went' fem. pl. *jāwā*/jawā/ 'I may go'.

Nouns are inflected for number and case. There are two numbers, singular and plural. There are five cases, direct, oblique, vocative, ablative and locative. Direct and oblique apply to all nouns. The vocative is common only with animate nouns and the others are restricted to a small class of nouns. Nouns are assigned to one of the two genders—masculine and feminine. All masculines ending in /-a/ are alike and all feminines are inflected alike.

Pronouns are inflected for number and case. These are of two types. The first type including the first and second person pronouns, singular and plural, has forms for direct, oblique, dative, ablative and genitive. The second type, including the third person pronouns, has in addition a locative and an instrumental. The paradigms are as follows :—

	<i>First Sing.</i>	<i>First Plur.</i>	<i>Second Sing.</i>	<i>Second Plur.</i>
direct	m̄s̄	əs̄ī	t̄s̄	t̄Us̄ī
oblique	m̄s̄	əs̄ā	t̄s̄	t̄Us̄ā
dative	m̄ən̄ū	san̄ū	t̄ən̄ū	t̄Uən̄ū
ablative	m̄əth̄ō	sath̄ō	t̄əth̄ō	t̄Uəth̄ō
genitive				
m.s.d. mera		sāda	terā	t̄Uāda
m.s.o. mere		sāde	tere	t̄Uāde
m.p.d. mere		sāde	tere	t̄Uāde
m.p.o. merIā		sādIā	terIā	t̄UādIā
f.s.d. meri		sādi	teri	t̄Uādi
f.s.o. meri		sādi	teri	t̄Uādi
f.p.d. meriā		sādIā	teriā	t̄UādIā
f.p.o. meriā		sādIā	teriā	t̄UādIā

There is no instrumental case distinct from the direct nor is the instrumental postposition used with these. Thus /m̄s̄ kIā/ 'I said', not /m̄s̄ ne kIā/.

There are two sets of third person pronouns. These make no distinction of gender nor of number in the direct form. /eh/ 'that' refers to the nearer and /oh/ to the more remote.

The instrumental and genitive singulars appear to be the simple form plus the postposition /n̄ū/, /ne/ and /da/. On the basis of the assumption that every word in Punjabi has a tone, these are treated as suffixes because these do not bear tones.

Interrogative and relative pronouns are inflected for case but do not mark number. The forms are : - /kɔŋ/ 'who', obl. /kis/, impersonal /ki/ 'what', /jo/ 'who soever'; obl. /jIs/ etc.

There are five sets of numerals. Only two sets extend to higher numbers. The five sets are as follows : -

Cardinals

tIn 'three'

car 'four'

Ordinals

tija 'third', tira 'three-fold'; tiga 'triple';

tIne 'all the three'.

cɔtha 'fouth'; cɔra 'four fold'; cɔga 'quadruple'; care 'all the four'

There is an alternative method of counting numbers above twenty. It is more commonly used in rural areas than in urban. The unit is vi 'twenty', used with a plural viā. Even multiples of twenty are counted : -

/do viā/ 'two twenties' 'forty'

/tIn viā/ 'three twenties' 'sixty'

/che viā/ 'six twenties' 'one hundred and twenty'

There are three types of postpositions in Majhi : -

(1) /da/ 'of' is inflected for gender, number and case and agrees with the noun following it.

(2) Three forms always immediately follow the noun and show no inflection. These are : -

/ne/ 'instrumental or genitive'

/nū/ 'to' also marks various verbal complements.

/tō/ 'from', 'by'

(3) There are a large number of postpositions which may follow a noun or a noun plus /de/. The use of /de/ is in most instances completely optional unlike Hindi /ke/ which is compulsory. These also generally have two forms so that the postpositions can be considered as the locative and ablative cases of the nouns. Some examples are : -

/wic/ 'in' /wiccō/ 'from inside'

/ðər/ 'inside' /ðrð/ 'from inside'

/utte/~/te/ 'on' /uttō/~/tō/ 'from above' etc.

/de/ cannot precede the shortened forms, /te/ 'on' or /tō/ 'from above' but can be used with the longer equivalent forms /utte/ or /uttō/.

There are two verbal auxiliaries, inflected for person and number : -

1st sing.

plur.

Imperfective

ā
ā

Perfective

sā
sā

2nd sing.	ə	ə	sə
plur.	o	o	so or sə
3rd sing.	e or a	e or a	si
plur.	ne or a	ne or a	sən

In standard written language, the third person imperfective is usually /hə/ singular and /hən/ plural. These forms are spoken in very formal discourse.

There are three infinitives in Panjabi. The suffixes are as follows:-

Simple infinitive, /-ŋa/. This becomes /-əŋa/ after geminate consonants.

Conditional infinitive, /-ŋi/. This becomes /əŋi/ after consonants.

Imperfective Infinitive, /-ŋo/. This becomes /-əŋo/ after geminate consonants.

The future in Majhi is inflected for person, number and gender. The various inflections are :—

	<i>masc.</i>	<i>fem.</i>	<i>free alternative</i>
1st sing.	-ūga	-ūgi	~ aga-āgi
plur.	-āge	-āgiā	
2nd sing.	-ēga	-ēgi	
plur.	-oge	-ogiā	
3rd sing.	-ega	-egi	~ -uga-ugi
plur.	-ŋge	-ŋgiā	

There is also a short form of the future used only in first and third singular. The suffixes are :—

1st singular -ū

3rd singular -u

All mid-tone stems become high-tone in the future. Low tone stems, however, remain low. This results in a loss of contrast between mid-and high-tone stems.

3.2 Doabi : Doab is the country lying between the rivers Beas and Sutlej excluding the northern hilly area. It includes the districts of Jullundur, Hoshiarpur and Kapurthala. The Punjabi of this tract is known as Doabi. The language of Jullundur and Kapurthala has close resemblance with Malwai. The language of Hoshiarpur district has closer relation with Malwai dialect than with any other form of Punjabi.

The letters *b* and *v* are freely interchangeable. Thus *bekh~vekh* 'see'; *bic~vic* 'in'. The use of *U* or *o* is also optional. We find *hūda* and *hōda* 'being'. As in Malwai, when *I* falls between two vowels, it sometimes changes into a glide *y*. Thus *hōla* or *hoya* 'becomes'; *aIa* or *aya* 'came'. There is a capricious use of cerebrals *ŋ* and *l*. Thus we find *bələd* 'a bullock' but *nal*, not *nał* 'with'; Similarly we find *jana*

instead of *jaṇa* 'to go'; *hona* not *hoṇa* 'to be'; *ana* 'to come'; *bijna* 'to sow'. Sometimes short I is substituted for long i as in *hoīā* (fem. pl.) Double letters at the end of a word are also simplified as in *həth*, not *həthh* 'hand'; *kəf* not *kəff* 'decrease'. But in plural the geminate forms are intact as in *həlhā*, *gollā*, *viccō* etc. In the declension of nouns there is a contraction of *vic* 'in' to *c*, *viccō* 'from in' to *cō*. Thus we find *kərc* 'in the house'; *kərcō* 'from the house'. The insertion of an aspirate is another peculiarity as *phaiḍpa* instead of *plāpa* 'to get grind'; *təph* instead of *təp*. The form *hē* for the first person singular of the substantive verb is peculiar to this part of the Punjab.

3.3 Malwai : The Malwa is the name of the tract lying east of the river Beas in the north and the united Sutlej and Beas down south. It includes the districts of Ludhiana, Ferozepur, Bhatinda, parts of the district Patiala. We may say that the western boundary of the Malwa is the river Sutlej. Its northern part is the Powadh country of tahsil Kharar and in Ferozepur again there is the river Sutlej. Its eastern boundary may be roughly taken as the 76th degree of East Longitude, east of which Powadhi Punjabi is spoken. The language of this tract is known as Malwai.

Malwai does not differ materially from the standard Majhi. The standard form of the language is used everywhere and the irregular forms are not substituted but are employed optionally. The letters *b* and *v* are freely interchangeable. Thus *bekh~vekh* 'see' : *bic~vic* 'in'. The final consonant is also not doubled like that of standard Majhi. At times when I falls between two vowels, it changes into a glide *y*. Thus *aya* instead of *aia* 'came' *gaya* instead of *gia* 'went'. *w* between two vowels is often changed to *m*. Thus *homāga* for *howāga* 'I shall be'; *amāga* for *awāga* 'I shall come'. In pronouns *apā* is used to mean 'we' It also means 'I'. *awda* 'own' is used instead of *appa* of the standard Punjabi. *əpṇa* is also used. In other pronouns *t* is sometimes substituted for *s*. Thus we find *kit* (for *kis*) *kəmm* 'of what use'; *It* (for *is*) *kər-ke* 'for this reason'. Sometimes *s* is used instead of *ch*. Thus *kuš* for *kuch* 'anything'. At times *ka* instead of *da* 'of' for genitive is used *kUch* as in *pəjā dñā ka* 'of five days'. In the declension of nouns there is contraction of *vic* 'in' to *c*; *viccō* 'from in' to *cō*. Thus we find *mulkc* 'in a country'; *khclācō* 'from among the field' respectively. At times the villagers are fond of adding *u* to words ending in a consonant. Thus *cīru* instead of *cīr* 'a space of time'; *malu* instead of *mal* 'property'; *mUlakcu* instead of *mləkc* 'in a country'. There is an inversion of the aspirate in *thuada* for *tuəda* 'your' and *odā* for *6da* 'his'. The genitive of the reflexive pronoun is *əpṇa*, not *appa*. The verb *depa* 'to give' makes the first person singular of its future as *demāga* 'I shall give'.

3.4 Bhattiani : Since the partition of the country the Bhatti

Muslims have left for Pakistan. They did not form a majority in any locality. Their population was spread over all along the border of Panjab with erstwhile States of Bahawalpur and Bikaner. They spoke the language of the locality which was Malwai mixed with Rajasthani in the east and with Lahndi in the west.

Thus we find hik 'one' of Bahawalpuri; de (plural masculine) 'of' is Bagri. Similarly jasā 'I will go' is a Bagri future with Bahawalpuri termination; khāde-ha 'they were eating,' is half Panjabi, half Bagri; tusāđa 'your' is Punjabi and tharo 'your' is Bagri.

3.5 Rathi : Rathi was the language of Pachadha (or Rath) Muslims who lived on both sides of the river Ghaggar in Hissar District. They have since left for Pakistan. These Pachadhas had settled here after leaving their original homes in Western Panjab, probably in Jhelum or Gujrat district. They were a compact community and as such could retain their original language in spite of their being in Hindi speaking area for a few centuries. Though their language was greatly influenced by the language of the locality, still it remained basically Punjabi.

Some peculiarities of Rathi are as under :—

The genitive is sometimes formed by adding ka and sometimes by adding da. The sign of the dative is nū or ne. The termination gi is used in the present as well as in the future. Thus aegi 'she comes' as well as 'she will come'. The Malwai future with —sū termination also occurs as in jāsū 'I will go'. The pronunciation of Rathi is fond of nasal sounds as in cāhāda 'wishing'; aūdā 'coming'.

3.6 Powadhi : The word 'Powadh' means 'East' and Powadhi Punjabi is the Punjabi spoken in that portion of the eastern Punjab known as Powadh.

The Powadh extends from that part of the Ludhiana district which lies near the Sutlej river upto the river Ghaggar in the east. To the south it occupies those parts of the erstwhile states of Patiala, Nabha and Jind which lie east of, say, the 76th degree of east longitude. This tract includes a few outlying portions of the Hissar district.

The structural analysis of the Powadhi dialect can be described in the general frame-work of the phonological pattern of the standard Punjabi. The development of tones from the voiced-aspirates of the old Indo-Aryan covers every part of the Powadhi area. However, there are certain local characteristics of the dialect. Thus we find the pronunciation of vīc as bīc 'in'; the insertion of an aspirate/tone in bālād 'ox'; the frequent dropping of the first syllable as in khūcō instead of khū-bīcō 'from the well'; unhācō instead of unhā-bīcō 'from among them'; and frequent transposition of an aspirate as in unū for ūnū 'to them'; odā for ōda 'of him'; jēđa for jēđa 'who'. In certain

cases even the initial /h/ is replaced by tone as in /n̄eri/ 'storm' from /h̄eneri/.

3.7 Multani : According to the evidence available from the various district gazetteers different speech forms existed in the erstwhile area of West Punjab. These speech forms had various local names associated either with the geographical location or with the tribes speaking the language. Multani of the districts Multan and Muzaffargarh is one of them. There are many other speech forms closely resembling Multani. These are Bahawalpuri, in the erstwhile Bahawalpnr state, and Derawal Hindki in the district Dera Ghazi Khan. The differences between these forms of speech are due to local idiom but the great mass of vocabulary, including all the words in common use, are the same. There are only minor variations in pronunciation.

For the sake of convenience the above mentioned forms of speech having geographical contiguity are described under Multani.

Phonology

The existence of tone, in Multani, was accepted by N. Wilson, who rearranged O' Brien's 'Multani Glossary' and added a skeleton grammar of Multani to the new edition of the glossary published in 1903. While discussing the consonants of Multani, Wilson writes... "h as in English word 'hen' but when following a vowel it is often so slightly pronounced as to be hardly distinguishable, unless when the word is pronounced with emphasis, e.g. Khuh 'well'.....*

We have an elaborate analysis of the tonal system of Lahndi in Hardev Bahri's "Lahndi Phonetics" (Ph.D. thesis, Punjab University, 1941) published at Allahabad in 1963. He has presented the 'four-way' phonetic tones – falling, high, low rising and mid-tones. These have been discussed in the earlier section.

Multani has 10 vowels, three centralized and seven peripherals. It has 34 consonants and 2 semivowels. Stops have 4 sub-classes- voiceless unaspirate, voiceless aspirate, voiced unaspirate and voiced aspirate. Some sort of phonetic implosion (not a phonologic or structural feature, however) is involved in the articulation of voiced unaspirated and aspirated plosives in some parts of Lower Multan adjoining Sindh. Nasals follow the general system of the I.A. languages and are voiced. There is one postdental lateral /l/; a postdental voiced apical trill /r/; and a retroflex voiced flap /r̄/. /f/ is labio-dental; /s/ is postdental and /š/ palatal. All are voiceless. /x/ is uvular, voiceless fricative; /z/ is postdental, voiced and /h/ glottal, voiced fricative; /v/ and /y/ are voiced semivowels. The former is labio-dental and the latter is palatal.

Nasalization is generally functional. But there is non-functional nasalization as well. The vowels are nasalized under the influence of neighbouring nasal phoneme in certain situations. In general the distinctive nasalized vowel is marked in orthography; the other, being predictable, is ignored. Multani agrees with standard Punjabi in the functional as well its non-functional occurrence.

Morphology

Nouns : There are two genders, masculine and feminine; and two numbers, singular and plural. As a general rule the very large class of masculine singular nouns end in /-a/ and feminine singular nouns end in /-i/. The feminine form is obtained by replacing the final /-a/ of the masculine by /-i/. However, all masculine nouns ending in /-a/ do not have corresponding feminine forms ending in /-i/. The feminine of /affa/ 'flour', /məttha/ 'forehead' do not exist and feminine of /baba/ 'grand father' is not formed by this process. Conversely, all feminine nouns ending in /-i/ do not have corresponding masculine forms with the termination /-a/ e.g. /roji/ 'bread', /laʃhi/ 'stick', /məʃʃi/ 'clay' have no masculine forms.

Nouns are declined for oblique, vocative and a few other cases depending upon the terminal vowel or consonant of the masculine and feminine. Where there is no declension used, the postpositions are used instead. These declensions are exactly on the pattern of standard Punjabi.

If we compare the forms of the personal pronouns of Multani with that of standard Punjabi, we find the 's' form of I and II person plural pronouns i.e. assā/tussā (Multani) and asī/tusī (Majhi) which are the characteristic features of Punjabi. There are no separate forms for III person singular and plural. Instead, the demonstrative pronouns serve the purpose of personal pronouns as well. Again; there are no separate forms for singular and plural of demonstrative pronouns. /ə/ or o/ serves for both singular and plural of far demonstrative pronouns and /e/ or e/ for near demonstrative pronouns in the nominative case. In other cases, however, there is a distinction between singular and plural. Generally speaking pronouns in Multani and standard Punjabi have no distinction of gender. But Multani, however, retains some older forms of gender distinction in emphatic forms of III person singular pronouns—/ua/ 'that very' is feminine and /uo/ 'that very' is masculine. Similarly /ia/ 'this very' is feminine and /io/ 'this very' is masculine.

There is some difference in the declined forms of personal pronouns in Multani and standard Punjabi because of difference in postpositions of the two dialects e.g. /iskū/ or ikū/ '3rd person proximate accusative and dative' in Multani and /isnū/ in Majhi.

Multani has no separate honorific pronouns and express respect by using plural pronouns for a single person. This is also the case in Majhi. The forms and declension of the interrogative pronouns in Multani are the same as those in Majhi.

The great majority of adjectives in Multani end in the termination /-a/ for masculine which is changed to /-i/ for the feminine and are declined like nouns ending in /-a/ and /-i/. These adjectives agree with their nouns in gender, number and case and generally precede them. Some 'tatsama' or borrowed adjectives are indeclinable and they retain the same form whatever the gender, number or case.

For Example :

murəkh chohur	'foolish boy'
murəkh chohər	'foolish boys'
murəkh chohIr	'foolish girl'
murəkh chohIrī	'foolish girls'.

Comparison is generally made by the use of the adverbs /vəddh/ 'more', /gheft/ 'less' or by the use of the postposition/nalō/, /kənū/ or /kōlū/ 'than'.

Thus we have : /e ū kōlū vəddə he/ 'He is elder than him'. Sometimes /-a/ of the adjective is changed into /-era/ to signify comparative degree, e.g. cāga 'good' : cāgera 'better' : vəddə 'large' : vədəra 'larger'.

The superlative is formed by making a comparison with səbho 'all'. Thus we have : /e səbbhna kōlū nIkya he/ 'This is the smallest of all'.

The formation of comparative and superlative is a peculiarity of Multani dialect. It is rarely employed in Majhi.

Verbs may be divided into Intransitive and Transitive. In a great many cases an Intransitive root has a corresponding transitive root usually formed by strengthening the vowel of the root. This again can often be turned into a Double transitive or Causal verb by a further change in the root.

Root	Transitive or Double transitive root
mar 'strike'	mərā 'cause to be struck'
ter 'swim'	terā 'cause to swim'
pi 'drink'	piwa 'cause to drink'
ro 'weep'	ruwa 'cause to weep'

However, most of the common roots form their transitive irregularly e. g.

Intransitive

truff	'break'
a	'come'
chUff	'escape'

Transitive

tror	'break'
ap	'bring'
chadd	or choy 'set free'

Passive is formed by adding /i/ to the root of the transitive verb and shortening the vowel of the roots; or if the root ends in /-a/, by changing it into /-i/.

Thus we have :— mar 'strike' : məri 'be struck'; sədd 'call' : sədi 'be called'

However, many transitive verbs have a corresponding intransitive verb which has a passive signification e. g. :

Transitive

pih	'grind'
jo	'yoke'

Intransitive or Passive

pIs	'be ground'
jUpp	'be yoked'

Almost every intransitive verb which has a correspondig transitive root may be said to be a passive voice of the latter (transitive).

The present participle ends in /-da/ (masculine singular). This is a distinctive characteristic of Punjabi dialects which separates them from Western Hindi and Rajasthani having /-ta/ or /-to/ as their present participle endings.

The past participle is generally formed by suffixing /-Ia/ to the roots e.g. :

/rəkkh/ 'place'	: rəkkhIa 'placed'
/mar/ 'beat'	marIa 'beat'
/kill/	'killed'
/ro/ 'weep'	roIa 'wept'

Other endings of the past participle are :—

- /-ta/ as in /pita/ from /pi/ 'drink'; /kita/ from /kər/ 'do';
- /-da/ as in /-khāda/ from /kha/ 'eat'; /bāddā/ from /bānn/ 'tie'
- /-jha/ as in /bājha/ from /bā/ 'sit'; /pijha/ from /pi/ 'grind'

There are many other irregular forms of participle, e.g.

/nIkəttha/ from /nikkəl/ 'come out'

/sUjjata/ from /sujjap/ 'recognise'

/kəmetta/ from /kəmma/ 'earn'

The future is formed by adding the appropriate form of the suffix /-sa/ direct to the verbal root accordidg to the person. The complete paradigm from the root /kər/ 'do' is given as under :

	<i>I person</i>	<i>II person</i>	<i>III person</i>
Singular	k̄̄resā	k̄̄resē	k̄̄resi
(both for masc. and fem.)			
Plural	k̄̄resū	k̄̄ruso	k̄̄resən
(both for masc. and fem.)			

The Auxiliary Verb

The following table gives all the forms of the auxiliary verb used in this dialect :—

	<i>I person</i>	<i>II person</i>	<i>III person</i>
Singular	Present	Singular	Singular
Present	ā~hā	aē~haē	hē~ē
Past	hēm~ahī	hase~ahe	have~haē
	~haī		~ahē
Future	hosā	hosū	hosē
			hosō
		hosō	hosōn

There is no distinction of gender in the auxiliary.

Multani dialect has negative forms of the auxiliary verb which are used in strong refusals. These forms may be seen from the following tables :—

	<i>I person</i>	<i>II person</i>	<i>III person</i>
Singular	nímu~nímhi	nívī~nehī	nísi~nei
	'I am not'	'You-sing-are not'	'he is not'
Plural	níse~nísse	níve	ninne ~ nén
	'we are not'	'yon-pl. are not'	'they are not'
<i>Past</i>			
Singular	nahI ^m	nahē	naha
	'I was not'	'you-sing. were not'	'he was not'
Plural	nasse	navē	nahin
	'we were not'	'you-pl. were not'	'they were not'

The negative forms of the auxiliary generally precede the main verb as : nímhi vēda 'I am not going, let it be known to you'.

The following points may be noted :—

- The subjunctive has different endings to indicate the distinction of person.
- The present participle and the past participle express the distinction of number and gender through suffixes.

(iii) The auxiliary verb is subject to morphophonemic variations for person.

Other Parts of Speech

The adverbs ending in /-a/ (masc. sing.) are declinable for gender and number just as nouns of similar endings.

Of the postpositions only one, the postposition of genitive has inflections as described below. Other postpositions, conjunctions and interjections are not declinable.

Postpositions of genitive

The postpositions of genitive is declinable and has regular endings for gender, number and case. Thus we have :—

-da	masc. sing.	
-de	masc. pl.	
-di	fem. sing.	
-diā	fem. pl.	
-de	masc. Sing.	
-deā	masc. pl.	direct forms
-deō	masc. sing.	
-diō	fem. sing.	
-deo	masc. pl.	Oblique forms
-dio	fem. pl.	
		Ablative case
		Vocative case

These declensions are in agreement with the nouns that follow the postposition e.g. *chohur diā bheñā* 'the sisters of the boy'. Here *diā* (fem. pl.) agrees with *bheñā* (sisters).

The suffixes of Genitive

With the pronouns of I and II person, Multani employs suffixes of genitive in place of postposition. Thus we have :—

-da	mēda 'mine'	teda 'thine'
	əssāda 'ours'	tUssāda 'Yours'

The suffix *-da* is declinable and has all the endings recorded in the case of postposition of genitive.

3.8 *Dialect of Shahpur Doab* or *Shahpur Doobi* The dialect spoken between the rivers Jehlam and Chanab of the Shahpur District is called Shahpur Doabi. It is a typical form of the language which is spoken in the Districts of Shahpur, Jhang, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Lahore, Gurjranwala and Gujrat. The dialect has many local names such as Jatki, Jangli, Bar-di-Boli, Bhirochi, Chinawari depending upon the people who speak it or the locality it represents. Thus Jatki is the language of the Jats; Jangli is the dialect of the nomad tribes settled in the area; Bar-di-Boli is the speech of the Bar or uncultivated upland; Chinawari is the Jatki spoken on the banks of Chenab etc.

Phonology

Shahpur Doabi has ten vowels, 3 centralized and 7 peripheral as in standard Punjabi. All vowels can be nasalized. There are 37 consonants. The cerebral /t/ is common although not denoted in the vernacular character by any special sign. The pronunciation of the phoneme /h/ is the same as described by Grahame Bailey in his Wazirabad Grammar i.e. it has a strong guttural sound when commencing a word or preceding an accented syllable and in other positions it alters the whole tone of the word.

Morphology

Three declensions of masculine nouns and three of feminine nouns are found in the dialect.

The first declension consists of masculine 'tadbhav' nouns whose nominative ends in /-a/ as in /ghora/. The nominative plural is formed by changing the final /-a/ of the singular to /-e/ : e.g. /ghora/ : /ghore/. /bhra/ 'brother' is irregular. Its nominative plural is /bhra/.

The second declension consists of masculine nouns of more than one syllable ending in a vowel /U/ followed by a consonant. The plural is formed by changing the /U/ to /ə/ : e.g.

kukkur 'cock' : kukker 'cocks'

chohur 'boy' : choher 'boys'

The third declension includes all other masculine nouns. In such cases the nominative plural is the same as the nominative singular :—

gher 'a house' : ghar 'houses'

kā 'a crow' : kā 'crows'

peo 'a father' : peo 'fathers'.

The fourth declension includes most feminine nouns which form their plural in /-ā/. If the noun in singular ends in /-a/, then the plural is formed by adding /-wā/. Thus :—

/bhen/ 'a sister' : /bhenā/ 'sisters'

/mā/ 'a mother' : /mawā/ 'mothers'.

The word /gəddē/ 'a donkey-mare' (Masculine gəddō) forms its plural irregularly. It is /gəddē/, the same as the singular.

The fifth declension includes feminine nouns which form their plural in /-ī/. Thus :—

/əkkh/ 'an eye' : /əkhī/ 'eyes'

/gā/ 'a cow' : /gāī/ 'cows'

/chohīr/ 'a girl' : /chohrī/ 'girls'

The sixth declension includes feminine nouns which form their plural in /u/. Thus :—

/hāj/ 'a tear' : hāju 'tears'.

There are six cases—the nominative, the oblique, the agent, the locative, the ablative and the vocative. A full declension of /ghora/ 'a horse' is given as follows :—

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	ghora 'a horse'	ghoṛe 'horses'
Agent	ghoṛe 'by a horse'	ghoṛeā 'by horses'
ACC	ghora, ghoṛenū 'a horse, the horse'	ghoṛe, ghoṛiānū 'horses the horses'
Instr. (organic)	ghoṛe 'by a horse'	ghoṛe 'by horses'
Instr (Non-organic)	ghoṛe-nal 'by a horse'	ghoṛiā-nal 'by horses'
Dat.	ghoṛenū 'to a horse'	ghoṛiānū 'to horses'
Abl.	ghoṛeō, ghoṛe-thō 'from a horse'	ghoṛiāō, ghoṛiā-thū 'from horse'
Gen.	ghoṛe-da 'of a horse'	ghoṛiā-da 'of horses'
Loc (Organic)	(ghoṛe) (in a horse)	(ghoṛe) '(in horse)'
Loc. (Non-organic)	ghoṛe-vic 'in horse'	ghoṛiā-vic 'in horses'
Voc.	ghoṛea 'O horse'	ghoṛiāho 'O horses'

It is evident that the various postpositions are the same as used in standard Punjabi.

Adjectives

An adjective in Shahpur Doabi agrees with the nouns it qualifies in gender, number and case. The formation of the gender and the declension of adjective are the same as those of substantive nouns. Comparison is generally made by putting the postpositions /naṛō/ or /thō/ after the noun with which comparison is made e.g. /eūs naṛō cēga he/ 'This is better than that'

The termination /-era/ added to an adjective means either 'more' or 'rather'. Thus /cēga/ 'good' : /cēgera/ 'better' or 'rather good'.

The above comparative degree forms are used in standard Punjabi also.

Pronouns

The 's' form of the I and II person plural pronouns is a peculiarity of Punjabi. Both, Shahpur Doabi and Majhi have the same 's' form. Thus we have /əs̱s̱i/ ~ /həs̱s̱i/ and /tUss̱i/ as the nominative plurals of the I and II person pronouns in Shahpur Doabi.

The demonstrative pronouns, proximate and remote, serve the purpose of III person singular and plural both in the dialect and standard Punjabi.

Even the declined forms of personal pronouns in Shahpur Doabi and standard Punjabi are the same. In some declensions where the original 's' has changed to a tone (represented by 'h') in Majhi, Shahpur Doabi has also the same alternative form. Thus we find : /t U sa^{da}~t U ha^{da}/ 'yours, plur'.; /t U sa^ññ~t U han^ñ/ 'to you, plur'.

Shahpur Doabi and Majhi have no separate honorific pronoun and both the dialects express respect by using plural pronouns.

The Relatives Pronoun is /jeh^{ra}/ 'who', with obl. sing. /jis~jā/ and obl. plur. /jīn/. The Interrogative Pronoun is /kōñ/ 'who' with obl. sing /kē/; and /ke/ 'what' with obl. sing. /kīs/ and /keh^{ra}/.

Pronominal suffixes are the peculiarity of the dialect and are attached to both nouns and verbs. These are :—

a) Suffixes of the nominative only.

	Sign.	Plur.
I person	-s	-s
II person	- <i>ə</i>	—
III person	—	—

b) Suffixes of any case

	Sing.	Plur.
I person	-m	-se, -ahse
II person	-r, - <i>ū</i> , -o, - <i>ō</i>	-ne, -nihe, -inhe
III person	-s	-ne

/-s/ represents both the nominative of the first person and any case of the third person singular and plural. All the suffixes mentioned under head (b) can be used to refer to either gender and for any case. These suffixes are connected to the word to which they refer by any one of the these vowels : /ə, e, i, o or U/ e.g. /shahpur għerħem/ 'Shahpur is my home'; /dərdum/ 'Pain is to me or I have pain'.

When these suffixes are attached to nouns they actually include a substantive verb. Thus in /għerħem/ 'house is to me', ħem is the third person singular of the substantive verb with the suffix of the 1st person (he 'there is', -m 'to me') and /ħem/ becomes /ħem/. Similarly /ħisse/ in /għarħisse/ means (ħi 'there is' +—se 'to us') and /-ħisse/ in /dərdiħse/ is a contracted form of /ħisse/.

Verbs

The present participle is formed by adding /-da/ to the consonant ending intransitive verbs. Thus we find /mərda/ from /mər/ 'die'; /nīkəlda/ from /nIkəl/ 'go out'; /vədə/ from /vəj/ 'go'. However,

intransitive verbs with the root ending in a vowel or /h/ add nasalization before the suffix /-da/. Thus :—

- /I^ɛhda/ from /I^ɛh/ 'descend'
- /āda/ from /a/ 'come'
- /jīda/ from /ji/ 'live'
- /hŪda/ from /ho/ 'become'

Most transitive verbs form the present participle by adding /-ēda/ to the root. If the root ends in /-a/, then a is elided and the termination is /ēda/ or /ēda/. Thus :— /kērēda/ from /kēr/ 'do'; /bhējēda/ from /bhēja/ 'make to run'. Some transitive verbs take simply the suffix /-da/. Thus /kērda/ from /kēr/ 'do'; /vekhda/ from /vekh/.

The Past Participle is usually formed by adding /-ea/ instead of /Ia/ of standard Punjabi. Many verbs, however, form their past participle irregularly. Thus :— /moea/ from /mēr/ 'die'; /gea/ from /v^ɛj/ 'go'; /jata/ from /jaṇ/ 'know'; /khada~khadha/ from /kha/ 'eat'.

The Infinitive in Shahpur Doabi is formed by adding /Uṇ/ to the root or if the root ends in a vowel by adding /wUṇ/. Thus /mar Uṇ/ 'to strike'; /de-wUṇ/ 'to give'. In standard Punjabi the respective forms are /marəṇ/ and /deṇ/.

A root becomes causal or transitive by adding /-a/ or after a vowel /-wa/. If the root ends in a geminate consonant, the geminate becomes a single consonant. A transitive verb thus formed may itself form a causal. Thus we find :— /bhēja/ 'cause to run' from /bhējj/ ; /māra/ 'cause to strike' from /mar/ 'strike'.

The future tense is conjugated as follows :— Root : /mar/ 'strike'.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	māresā	māresū
2nd petson	māresē	māreso
3rd person	māresi	māresIn

In transitive verbs, the root vowel is shortened before the e of the second syllable. But intransitive verbs omit the e, so that we have forms like /māresā/ (not /māresā/) 'I shall die'. At times the intransitive root ending in vowel inserts /-u/ before the s, e.g. /a U sā/ 'I shall come'

Pronominal suffixes are used with all the tenses.

The conjugation of the auxiliary verbs and substantive verbs are as follows :—

Present tense 'I am' etc.

Singular *Plural*

Full Form	Contracted	Emphetic	Full Form	Contracted	Emphetic
form	form	form	form	form	form

1	hā	ā	hā	āh	āh
2	hē	ē	hē	ēh	ēh
3	hē	e (ve)	ihē	hIn	ehIn

The past tense is conjugated as follows :

Past Tense 'I was' etc.

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1	ah <u>U</u> s, ah <u>js</u>	ahs <u>se</u>
2	ah <u>ē</u>	ahe
3	aha (Fem. ahi)	ah <u>jn</u> (Fem. ah <u>jā</u> or ah <u>jn</u>)

Gender is distinguished only in the third person. The other two persons are formed by adding pronominal suffixes to the third person. In Majhi, however, there is no distinction of gender for the III person in the past tense.

3.9 *Thāi*. *Thāi* means desert and *Thāi* is the language of the desert. *Thāi* has various names according to locality. 'Jatki' is more common. A slightly polished form is spoken in the town of Dera Ismail Khan and its suburbs and is known as Derawali. In Mainwali and Bannu, it is called Hindko and sometimes Mulki. In Jhelum it is called *Thāi* and the same name is employed in parts of the district of Shahpur. In Jhang it is called Thalochri. Thus *Thāi* includes parts of the districts of Mianwali, Shahpur, Jhang and Muzaffargarh.

Wherever it is spoken it is practically the same dialect and closely agrees with Multani although it is a border dialect between Multani and Shahpur Doabi. It has marked preference for the cerebral /d/. For the dative we find the Multani postposition /kū/ as well as the Shahpur Doabi /nū/. The standard Punjabi employs /nū/. Adjectives agree with their nouns in number, gender, and case and generally precede them as is the case in the standard Punjabi. Pronouns follow Multani and are :— /m̄da/ 'my', /əs̄ā/ 'we' /t̄da/ 'your' and t̄Ussā 'you' plur.; Thus the 's' form of the I and II person plural, a peculiarity of standard Punjabi, is in use in the dialect. The pronominal suffixes agree with those of Shahpur Doabi.

In the conjugation of verbs, *Thāi* differs a little when the root /dēkh/ 'see' (*Thāi* of Jhelum /vekh/) has /dēdha/ for its present participle. Its past participle, however, is the usual form /dIṭṭha/. Similarly the verb /nIkəl/ 'go forth' has its past participle /nIkəṭṭha/. The dialect forms its past participle from the passive by inserting /j/ or sometimes /c/ e.g. /peṭij-gea/ 'been torn up'; /meric-gea/ 'been struck'.

The substantive verbs in *Thāi* follow closely Shahpur Doabi.

3.10 *The Dialect of the Salt Range.*

The Salt Range runs across the south of the district of Jhelum and the north of the districts of Shahpur and Mianwali. It includes parts of Shahpur, Attock and Kohat and is known as the Shahpur Salt Range dialect.

The Salt Range dialect has almost the same vocabulary as that of standard Punjabi and possesses the peculiar form of nouns ending in geminate consonants preceded by central vowels under tones. The majority of nouns, adjectives and verbal forms and some adverbs are inflected for gender and number alike in the Salt Range dialect and Majhi. The Salt Range, however, has one peculiar method of forming feminine nouns from a few masculines by replacing the /U/ by /I/ as in Multani. Thus we find /chohUr/ 'boy'; /chohIr/ 'girl'; **kukkUṛ** / 'cock'; /kukkIṛ/ 'hen'. Some masculine nouns of more than one syllable of the Salt Range ending in a vowel /U/ followed by a consonant form the plural by changing the /U/ of the last syllable to /ə/. Thus : /kukkUṛ/ 'cocks' /chohur/ 'boy' : /chohəṛ/ 'boys'.

Masculine nouns ending in a consonant often add e to form the oblique case singular. This is also employed in stanrad Punjabi. The plural of all other nouns, both nominative and oblique, is formed as in Majhi. Most of the postpositions of the Salt Range are common with standard Punjabi. However the termination of the genitive is /na/ or /nā/ instead of /da/ and is subjcct to the inflections exactly on the pattern of standard Punjabi. The postposition of the dative is /həī/ or /əīh/ instead of /nū/. The postposition of the ablative is /thaō/ instead of /thō/ of Majhi.

The adjectives of the Salt Range have the same forms as those found in standard Punjabi. These adjectives agree with their nouns in gender, number and case and generally precede them.

The Salt Range dialect has the same forms of I and II person plural pronouns which are characteristic af Punjabi and the declension of the prououns is also on the pattern of standard Punjabi. There are no separate forms of pronouns for III person singular and plural and the demonstrative pronouns are used as pronouns of the third person as well.

The present participle ends in /na/ or /nā/ instead of /da/ of the standard Punjabi. In other respects the conjugation of the verb is the same as in Majhi. The past participle is obtained by suffixing /-Ia/ to the roots. Some of the irregular forms of the Salt Range are /nIkəta/ from /nIkkəl/ 'come out'; /ghIdda/ from /ghInn/ 'take'; /kUṭṭha/ from /koh/ 'butcher'.

The Salt Range dialect adds appropriate form of s in the formation of absolute future and the future tense shows distinction of person and not of gender as in Majhi :— Thus we have: /kəresū/ (masc. and fem. plural) 'We shall do'. The parallel form in Majhi is /kərāge/ (masc. Plur.) The present participle is declined according to gender and number and the morphophonemic variations of the present participle are in close agreement with Majhi. The past participle of the intransitive verbs have /-a/, /-e/, /-i/ and /-iā/ as the number, gender

marks which agree with the subject. There is no distinction of person. The past participle of the transitive verbs agrees with the object in gender and number. The number, gender or person of the subject has no effect on the form of the past participle.

3.11 Pothohari : The Pothohar plain consists of eastern part of the district of Jhelum and plain portion of the district of Rawalpindi. Several local names are current based on the names of the tribes which use some particular form and not always connoting special dialectical differences. The general names are Phothori of Pothohar tract; Dhanni of Jhelum District; Awankari in the south of the district of Attock where Awāqns are settled; Ghebi in the Pindi Gheb Tehsil in the centre of the district of Attock.

In Pothohari practically every final long vowel may be nasalized. Thus we find na or nā, the termination of the genitive and that of the present participle; the pronouns ēsi or ēsī 'we'; tūsi or tūsī 'you'; mēda or mēdā 'my'; tēda or tēdā 'your'; the oblique forms of say gēl 'a word' as gēllu or gēlū ; ja 'a place' as jai or jaī and the words like bāhu or bāhū 'many'.

There is a tendency to add an h to a monosyllabic word ending in a long vowel as deh 'give (you)'; jah 'go (you)'. This h only raises the tone or pitch of the preceding syllable.

The vowel I when unaccented tends to become ə. Thus bimar 'sick' becomes bəmar .

Metathesis of consonants is quite common. Thus we find :—

jakēt for jatēk 'boy'
māhešā for hāmešā 'always'
səbab for ēsbab 'goods'
wəheli for həweli 'courtyard'.

Pothohari has practically the same vocabulary as that of standard Punjabi and includes the peculiar forms of nouns ending in geminate consonants preceded by central vowels under tones. Their declensions are also similar except in a few cases. All regular masculine nouns in the oblique singular take e and the termination of the genitive is na or nā . The other declensions are quite similar to standard Punjabi.

The postpositions and case terminations in Pothohari are as under:

Accusative-Dative : The postpositions are ki and ā as in pIu-ki or pIu-ā 'to the father'; the termination is nū as in pIu-nū . ki is used after verbs of saying pIu-ki akhea 'He said to the father.'

Ablative-Instrumental : The postpositions are kojō or thī 'from'; naī 'with'; and vIccō 'from among'.

Genitive : The termination is —na 'of' for masc. singular with —ne for masc. plur.; -ni for fem. sing. and —niā for fem. plur. The parallel Majhi forms are —da , de , —di and diā .

Locative : The postpositions are *vIcc* 'in' and *kol* 'near'. However the oblique form is used alone without suffixing the locative postposition as in *ghere* 'in the house'; *gherā* 'in the houses'.

The 'tadhava' adjectives of Pothohari terminate in —a in masc. singular as in Majhi and have declensions similar to the declensions of nouns ending in -a . These adjectives agree with the nouns they qualify in gender, number and case.

Comparison is generally made by putting the postpositions *naļđ*, *thđ* or *kolđ* after the noun with which the comparison is made. Thus we find : *usna pərə usni pənū-kolđ ləmmā a* (Pothohari) *usda pərə usdi pən kolđ lemmā a* (Majhi) 'His brother is taller than his sister' *e sarIā-naļđ cāga e* (Pothohari) *e sarIa-naļđo cāga e* (Majhi) 'This is the best'

It is evident that Pothohari and Majhi are identical in the case of comparative degree of adjectives.

The 's' form of the first and second person plural pronouns is a peculiarity of Punjabi and Pothohari has the same 's' form. The demonstrative pronouns which serve the purpose of III person singular and plural are the same as in standard Punjabi. However, the declined forms of personal pronouns in Pothohari are different from the corresponding forms of Majhi chiefly because of difference in some cases in postpositions of the two dialects. In some declensions the original 's' has changed to a tone but Pothohari has the same form e.g. *tUáđa* 'yours, plur.' and *tuánu* 'to you, plur.' in Majhi and *tusađa* and *tusaki* in Pothohari.

Most verbal roots are monosyllabic but a considerable number of disyllabic roots are also found. Such roots are mostly causal forms or the intransitive verbs e.g. *khəlar* 'cause to stand' from *khəlo* 'stand'; *lIkka* 'cause to write' from *lIkki* 'write' etc.

The infinitive is formed in Pothohari by adding -na (or after r, -na) to the root. As usual, the final —a is nasalized. Thus we have *kUttña* [kUttñā] 'to strike'; *marna* [marnñā] 'to beat'. However there is an oblique form —ne or —ne as *məđe pđrne* waste 'for my reading'; *tUađe lIkhnā* waste 'for your writing' etc. in Pothohari which is not current in standard Punjabi.

The present participle in Pothohari ends in -na [nā] whereas the same ends in -da in standard Punjabi. But the two dialects are in complete agreement so far as the morphophonemic variations of the present participle are concerned. An e is not inserted before na in the case of transitive verbs as is done in Multani. Thus we have *kerna* not *kəreña* 'doing'. Standard Punjabi agrees with Pothohari in this respect.

The past participle is obtained by suffixing —Ia to the roots. However there are certain irregular forms of the past participle which are much more common in Pothohari than in standard Punjabi. Thus we find ləddha from ləbbhṇa 'to find'; p̄̄ta from p̄̄cṇa 'to arrive' moea from mərṇa 'to die'; aea from əchṇa 'to come'; gea from gəchṇa or jaṇa 'to go'.

The past participle of intransitive verbs agrees with the subject in gender and number. Pothohari and standard Punjabi have exactly the same number-gender markers —a, —e, —i — —iā and there is no distinction of person in either dialect.

The imperative second person subject is the same in form as the root. Thus we have kUṭṭ 'strike'; mar 'beat' etc. If the root is a monosyllable and ends in long vowel, h is added as in deh 'give (you)' jah 'go (you)'. This h raises the tone of the preceding syllable. This is a peculiar Punjabi characteristic which is shared both by Pothohari and Majhi.

Pothohari and Majhi have quite similar passive forms but Pothohari makes wider use of passive construction and certain passive forms of Pothohari are not obtainable in Majhi.

The conjugation of the auxiliary verbs for the present are almost similar to standard Punjabi. Besides, Pothohari has —we and —n as enclitic forms of the third person as in : tuāda nā̄ ke-we 'What is your name?' t̄de pIu-ne kItne pUttēr-n 'How many sons are there in your father's (house)?'

There are two separate forms of the past tense in Pothohari. In Majhi there is no distinction of gender for the III person in the past tense but Pothohari shows gender distinction.

Pothohari gets absolute future by adding the appropriate form of the suffix —s— direct to the verbal root according to the person. It does not show any distinction of gender.

Pronominal suffixes are very freely used with all tenses especially those formed from participles. Thus we find :

I person sing.	—m	sUttum 'I slept'
plur.	—se	sUttose 'We slept'
II person Sing.	—i	kitoi 'you did'
Plur.	—ve	kitove 'you did'
III person sing.	—s	mareos 'they beat'
plur.	—ne	mareone 'He beat'

A pronominal suffix can be added to the auxiliary verb also :

roti khadi həm 'I have taken meals'

paṇi pita hIsse 'We have drunk water'

kIthā gœ have 'Where had you gone?'

3.12 Western Pahari : The main dialects included in Western Pahari are : Mandiali, Chambiali, Kului, Kiuntheli, Baghati, Jaunsari Sarnauri and Bhadrawahi. Orierson accepts influence of Punjabi on most of these forms of speech but he treats all of these as a group of Pahari dialects entirely separate from Punjabi. These are discussed as under :—

3.13 Mandiali is the dialect of erstwhile state of Mandi and is not much different from Kangri. It will not be out of place to mention that Grierson accepts Kangri to be the dialect of Punjabi. Mandiali possesses almost all the peculiar characteristics of Punjabi :

1. Mandiali has the present participle ending in /da/ as /khāda/ 'eating', /bolda/ 'speaking', /liñda/ 'bringing', /rāda/ 'living etc.

2. Personal pronouns for the first and second person (plural) are /əsṣṭ/, /tUssṭ/. These forms are characteristic feature of Panjabi.

3. Morphological forms like /hātth/ 'hand' /kānn/ 'ear', /nākk/ 'nose', /kāmm/ 'work' etc. have marked Punjabi character.

4. Punjabi words ; /ethe/ 'here', /othe/ 'there', /kIthe/ 'where' take after Dogri in Mandiali where they are /Itthe/, /Utthe/, kUtthe/. The same forms are prevalent in Dogri.

5. The use of cerebral /p/ in nouns like /pāpi/ 'water' /maṇəs/ 'man', /kUp/ 'who'; in verbs like /aṇa/ 'to come'; /maraṇa/ 'to beat', /khaṇa/ 'to eat' ; and in reflective pronoun /əpṇa/ 'own' is another Punjabi feature.

Mandiali, no doubt, has some peculiarities of its own and important one being the use of /ra/, /re/, /ri/, as postpositions of genitive and also as auxiliary verbs. This peculiarity is not found even in Kangri except the language of the corner adjoining Mandi. Again there is difference in vocabulary and also in morphological forms but these do not amount to characterising Mandiali as a separate dialect. It is only a form of Kangri and is therefore within the Punjabi family.

3.14 Chambiali is the name of the dialect spoken in the erstwhile State of Chamba which lies to the north of the district of Kangra. Immediately to its south and south-west Chambiali has dialects connected with Panjabi and to its north-west the dialects connected with Kashmiri.

Here are some important points of similarity between Chambiali and Punjabi :—

1. Chambiali does not change certain consonants like /t/ to /ch/ or /ts/ as in other Pahari dialects but retains its form as in Punjabi.

2. Masculine nouns which in Punjabi end in /-a/ like *kòṛa* 'a horse' do not end in /o/ or /u/ in standard Chambiali as is the case with other Pahari dialects.

3. The vocabulary is very much shared with Punjabi. Thus we have :— *əgg* 'fire', *əgge* 'before', *əjj* 'today', *ələkh* 'lazy', *bəhṇ*, *bheṇ*, 'a sister', *bəhṇa* 'to sit', *bəṇḍna* 'to divide', *caṛhṇa* 'to raise', *chūṇa* 'to touch', *dhIaṛa* 'day', *dIkkhṇa* 'to see', *kəṇek* 'wheat' *kuri* 'girl' *laṛa* 'bridegroom', *laṛi* 'bride', *nIkka* 'small', younger' *pədhra* 'plain, level', *pIṭṭh* 'back', *pUttər* 'son', *Ucca* 'high', *tā* 'then', *Uṭṭhna* 'to rise', *waṛṇa* 'to enter' etc.

4. Morphological forms like /hātth/ 'hand', /pIṭṭh/ 'back', /nəkk/ 'nose', /əgg/ 'fire'. /nIkka/ 'small', /pUttar/ 'son', /kəmm/ 'work', /əgge/ 'before', /pUjjṇa/ 'to arrive' etc. have peculiar Punjabi character.

5. The first and second person plural forms like /əsi/, /tUsi/ are admittedly Punjabi forms.

6. The demonstratives /eh/ and /o/ used as pronouns of third person for both the numbers are clearly of Punjabi character.

7. The reflexive pronoun *əpu* 'self' with genitive *əpṇa* has characteristic Punjabi form as the initial vowel /ə/ is short and not long as in other Pahari Languages.

8. The present participle is formed by adding /da/ to the root as in *marda* 'striking'. If the root ends in a vowel or in h preceded by a vowel, then nasalization / ~ / or /n/ is inserted. Thus from *khāṇa* 'to eat' pres. part. is *khāḍda*; from *cahṇa* 'to wish', pres. part. is *cāḍa*. This exactly is the pattern in Punjabi.

9. Not only the past participle is formed by adding -Ia to the root as in Panjabi (e.g. *marIa* 'struck'), even irregular forms also correspond to Punjabi dialects :—

<i>depa</i> 'to give' :	past part.	<i>dItta</i>
<i>bēṇa</i> 'to sit' :	past part.	<i>bēṭha</i>
<i>reṇa</i> 'to remain' :	past part.	<i>reha</i>
<i>chūṇa</i> 'to touch' :	past part.	<i>chūṭa</i>

10. The use of cerebral /n/ in verbs and other words such as *bēṇa* 'to sit', *reṇa* 'to remain', *khāṇa* 'to eat', *əpṇa* 'self' is another important Punjabi characteristic.

3.15 Kului : The dialect of Kulu Valley is known as Kului. Although it has certain vocabulary and verbal forms different from standard Punjabi yet it bears specific stamp of Punjabi characteristics.

Present participle ends in /da/ as in /bolda/ 'speaking', /pīda/ 'drinking' /dōḍda/ 'placing', /cərda/ 'grazing' etc.

Again Kului has the characteristic Punjabi form of the words /hātth/ 'hand', /kənn/ 'ear' /kəmm/ 'work', /nəkk/ 'nose' etc.

Even pronouns for the first and the second persons (plural) are *əsə*, *tUṣə* / which are true Punjabi forms.

The use of /p/ in verbs and also in other words like /papi/ 'water' /pəpə/ 'child', /māpu/ 'man' etc. is another important Punjabi feature.

In certain situations the /s/ of Hindi becomes /h/ in Kului as is the case in Punjabi : /ghah/ 'grass'; /phahi/ 'entanglement' against /ghas/ and /phāsi/ of Hindi.

A few sentences of Kului are given below. It is evident from these that in spite of some local features of Kului, the dialect remains a form of Punjabi :—

/so səbhe sUtte de si/ 'They are asleep'

/ghoṛi papi pīdf ləgi di sa/ 'The mare is drinking water'

/əsə tre lāḍḍu khade/ 'We ate three laddus'

/gā kIlle sāgge bādi di sa/ 'The cow is tied with a tether'.

3.16 Dogri The Dogri dialect of Panjabi takes its name from Dogar or Dugar, literally, a mountainous region. Dogri is spoken in the Jammu province of the Jammu and Kashmir State. It is bounded on the south by standard Panjabi, on the east and north-east by Pahari, on the north by the semi-Kashmiri hill dialects and on the west by Pothohari.

Dogri closely resembles standard Panjabi in its phonological and morphological features. The three tones which are the most important characteristic of Panjabi and which differentiate it from all other Indo-Aryan languages are present in the same pattern in Dogri.

Dogri has almost similar vocabulary as Panjabi and possesses peculiar forms of nouns ending in geminate consonants preceded by *toned* central vowel. Thus we have :—/Ikk/ 'one' /trə/ 'three', /pƏjj/ 'five' /ət̪t̪h/ 'eight' /pƏjjə/ 'fifty', /hət̪th/ 'hand' /nəkk/ 'nose', /dʒd/ 'tooth' /kənn/ 'ear', /jʃb/ 'tongue', /ʃid/ 'belly', /pIʃ̪hi/ 'back', /pUttər/ 'son', /t̪i/ 'daughter', /kUkkər/ 'cock' etc.

Pronouns for the first and second person plural of Dogri employ the characteristic /s/ form of Panjabi :— /as/ 'we' /tUs/ 'you (pl)'. The demonstrative pronouns are used to serve the purpose of personal pronouns as well. Again there are no separate forms for singular and plural of demonstrative pronouns. *ō* serve for both singular and plural of far demonstrative and *ē* for near demonstrative in nominative case.

The present participle ends in *da* (masc. sing.) as in Majhi or in *na* as in Pothohari where as the same ends in *ta* in Hindi. The past participle is obtained by suffixing *-Ia* to the roots. Thus we find *us marIa* 'He beat', *əsə marIa* 'We beat'.

Of course there are certain dialectal differences with standard Panjabi. Thus in the case of masculine nouns the oblique form usually ends in a short vowel e.g. bəbbəI. The termination of the feminine oblique form singular is a. These terminations also occur in Pothohari and in Western Pahari. The termination of the oblique plural is ē, ē or ā. The postposition of the accusative-dative is generally ki or gi and very seldom the standard Punjabi nū. This is also the case in Pothohari, a dialect of Punjabi. The other post-positions coincide with those in use in standard Punjabi. As in Pothohari, the form of the accusative-dative of the pronouns of the first second and third person are mIki ~ mIgi~mi 'me'; tUki~tUgi 'you'; Usi 'him'. Similarly the accusative-dative of 'this' is Isi. There is an alternative form ending in -da of the past-participle. Thus we find moida 'dead'; goacida 'lost'; gIa-da tha 'It was gone'. The future has several forms which are strange to standard Panjabi. The syllable ce or cə is added to the Imperative to give a permissive force. Thus we find khacə 'let us eat', mənace 'let us celebrate'. As in Pothohari and Multani dialects, the final n in Dogri in such words as khāden 'They (were) eating' stands for a pronominal suffix meaning 'They' added to the verb.

In spite of its few peculiarities, Dogri dialect remains a form of Punjabi. A few sentences are given below as an evidence :—

tusaṛā ki nā e 'What is your name'?

Ithā kəsmir kInnī dur e 'How far is it from here to Kashmir ?'

əj mē bəra phlrlā 'I have walked a long way today'.

Usda pərā usdi pənū 'His brother is taller than his sister'.

kəchə ləmma e

mere əgge cəl 'Walk before me'.

cIffe kōre di kəfhi 'The saddle of the white horse is in the

kār e 'house'.

3.17 Kangri : To the north of Hoshiarpur district and south of erstwhile Chamba State lies the district of Kangra. To its east lies the Mandi State and to its west the north - eastern corner of Gurdaspur. The dialect of the area is called Kangri.

Kangri has almost similar vocabulary as that of standard Punjabi. Some of the vocabulary items are : d̄hId 'belly', bəbb 'father', bhən 'sister', pUttar 'son', dhi 'daughter' əgg 'fire', paṇi 'water', kukkər 'cock', uppər 'up', neṛe 'near', heṛh 'down', əgge 'before', pər 'but', Ucca 'high', hoṇa 'to be', tā 'then' əpṇa 'own', bite 'passed', tIthu 'there' bIc 'in', bolIa 'said' etc.

Even the distinctive forms of nouns ending in geminate consonants preceded by toned central vowels bear close resemblance to standard Punjabi. So we find ; hāth 'hand' nākk 'nose', kāmm 'work', kānn 'ear', pIṭṭh 'back', Ikk 'One', əgg 'fire', sətt 'seven', upper 'up',

ʃ 'today' cl̥ʃa 'white', mUll 'price' ləmmə̤ 'tall' etc.

The declensions of nouns in Kangri are similar to Punjabi except that in the oblique singular all masculine nouns in Kangri have an added to them. The agent plural in case of Kangri is always the same as the oblique plural. Same is the case in Majhi. The suffix of the accusative-dative in Kangri is ki or jo but in Majhi, it is nū. The suffix of the locative is blc in Kangri as in Malwai dialect of the Punjabi language.

The 'tadbhava' adjectives of Kangri end in - a in masculine singular and have declensions similar to the declensions of nouns ending in a. These adjectives agree with the nouns they qualify in gender, number and case as in standard Punjabi.

Kangri has forms of I and II person plural pronouns characteristic to Punjabi as in əs̥ə̤ and tUss̥ə̤ and the near and distant demonstratives serve as pronouns for III person singular and plural as in the case of standard Punjabi. Kangri has no sedarate honorific pronoun and express respect by using plural pronoun for a single person :— /tUss̥ə̤/.

The present participle is -da or -na ending. The first form of termination is used in Majhi and the second in Pothohori dialects of Punjabi. It is declined exactly on the pattern of standard Punjabi. The past participle of the intransitive verbs agrees with the subject in gender and number and the markers are -a, -e, -i and -i̤. There is no distinction of person. The past participle of the transitive verb agrees in gender and number with the object, the gender, number or person of the subject having no effect. Thus we have :—

m̥̤ k̥̤ṛ̥̤a d̥̤l̥̤ha 'I saw a horse'

m̥̤ k̥̤ṛ̥̤e d̥̤l̥̤the 'I saw horses'

m̥̤ k̥̤ṛ̥̤i d̥̤l̥̤hi 'I saw a mare'

m̥̤ k̥̤ṛ̥̤i̤ d̥̤l̥̤h̥̤a 'I saw mares'

This is exactly on the pattern of standard Punjabi.

Grierson has also accepted Kangri to be a dialect of Punjabi.

FOOT NOTES

1. Notations for phonetic symbols:

low tone ˘

high tone ˘

Stress + before the syllable to be stressed.

2. T. F. Cummings and T. Grahame Bailey : *Punjabi Manual and Grammar* (1912) published in 1925 Page XIII.

3. T. Grabame Bailey : *A Punjabi Phonetic Reader* (1913) based on the speech of village around Wazirabad and Gujranwala and *Linguistic Studies from the Himalayas* (1920) describing the Punjabi of Bilaspur and Nalagarh.
4. Grierson : *Linguistic Survey of India* vol. VIII part II page 251.
5. B. D. Jain : *A Phonology of Punjabi and a Ludhiana Phonetic Reader* Lahore 1934 Page 31
6. Daniel Jones : *The Phoneme : Its nature and use* Cambridge 1950 page 249
7. J.R. Firth : *Papers in Linguistics* 1934-1951 London 1957 pages 134-135
8. Hardev Bahri : *Lahndi Phonetics*, Alahbad, 1963
9. Kali Charan Bahi : *Tones in Punjabi* Indian Linguistic Vol XVII June 1957
10. Gill and Gleason : *A Reference Grammar of Punjabi* published as Hartford Studies in Linguistics Number 3, 1962
11. G. A. Grierson : 'Linguistic Survey of India' Vol. IX part I page 651
12. E.O. 'Brien : 'Glossary of the Multani Language' Lahore 1903. Page 2

—This article has been written under the guidance of Dr. Harjeet Singh Gill, Head of the Department of Linguistics, Punjabi University, Patiala. The material for the Majhi dialect has been copiously taken from 'A reference grammar of Punjabi' (Revised Edition) by Gill and Gleason, published by the Department of Linguistics, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1969. The data for the Multani dialect has been provided by Dr. Harkirat Singh in his unpublished thesis 'A Comparative Study of Majhi and Multani.' The basis of the analysis of the Dogri dialect is the actual Survey conducted by Sh. Ujjal Singh Bahri formerly of the Department of Linguistics, Punjabi University, Patiala and the findings there of given in the article 'Phonology of Dogri' published in PAKHA SANJAM in April, 1969. The data for the rest of the dialects of Punjabi has been taken from the different volumes of 'Linguistic Survey of India' by Grierson and the data collected by Sh. Mohan Singh Thukral for the Pothohari dialect, by Sh. Mukhtiar Singh Gill for the Malwai dialect, by Sh. Baldev Raj Gupta for the Doabi dialect and by the author himself for the Powadhi dialect. All these scholars are working on the Linguistic Survey Project of the Department of Linguistics, Punjabi University, Patiala.

DIALECTS OF PUNJA



"THE TONES COVER A MUCH LARGER AREA THAN HAS BEEN
MENTIONED BY THE REV. T. G. BAILEY. IN FACT THEY STRETCH
RIGHT UPTO THE JAMNA IN THE EAST, AND OCCUPY THE DIS-
TRICTS OF AMBALA, PARTS OF KARNAL, ROHTAK, HISSAR AND
BIKANER, THE WHOLE OF FEROZEPORE, SHAIKHUPURA, LAHORE,
LYALLPUR, GUJRANWALA, GUJRAT, JEL. AM., RAMALINDI, AND THE
DOGRI AREA, PARTS OF ABBOTABAD, HAZARA AND SIMLA, TO
GETHER WITH THE WHOLE OF THE INTERVENING AREAS."